

Message Text

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15 62

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-15 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

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R 060501Z OCT 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8396

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 6.)

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, CH

SUBJ: CHIAO KUAN-HUA'S UN SPEECH

SUMMARY: PRC VICE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA'S OCT 2
UNGA SPEECH WAS DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO DISCOUNTING US-SOVIET
DETENTE AND TO COUNTERING MOSCOW'S DISARMAMENT MOVES WITH A
BLISTERING DENUNCIATION OF SOVIET INTENTIONS. CHIAO AGAIN INDICATED
THAT OPPOSITION TO THE SUPERPOWERS PROVIDED THE FRAMEWORK OF
CHINA'S DIPLOMACY BUT THAT WITHIN THIS STRUCTURE THE FOCUS WAS ON
UNDERMINING THE POSITION OF THE USSR WHETHER IN THE THIRD WORLD,
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OR THE "SECOND INTERMEDIATE ZONE" OF EUROPE AND JAPAN. END

SUMMARY.

1. THE POINT OF CHIAO'S SPEECH WAS ONCE AGAIN TO PROPAGATE THE CHINESE VIEW THAT SUPERPOWER CONTENTION FOR HEGEMONY WAS THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE WORLD SCENE TODAY. IN ADDITION HE INDICATED THAT THE SECONDARY REALITY WAS THE EXISTENCE OF FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS ON THE ONE HAND AND THE THIRD WORLD ON THE OTHER.

2. CHIAO WENT EVEN FURTHER THAN PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S 10TH PARTY CONGRESS REPORT IN DISCOUNTING THE POSSIBILITY OF GENUINE DETENT BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS. THIS OBJECTIVE MAY ACCOUNT FOR HIS STRONG DENUNCIATION OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, AN AGREEMENT WHICH PROJECTS THE IMAGE OF US-SOVIET ENTENTE. IN ANY EVENT, IT APPEARS THAT THE PRC HAS DECIDED AS, EVIDENCED IN CHIAO'S SHARP LANGUAGE, THAT THE AGREEMENT'S IMPLICATION OF US-SOVIET COORDINATION AND COOPERATION IN "KEEPING THE PEACE" FAR OUTWEIGHS ANY "UMBRELLA" ADVANTAGES FOR CHINA.

3. ON THIS AND OTHER DISARMAMENT ISSUES CHIAO IMPLICITLY EXONERATED THE US OF UNDERHANDEDNESS AND CONCENTRATED HIS ATTACK ON THE USSR. HE SUGGESTED THAT MOSCOW WAS DELIBERATELY TRYING TO BUILD UP THE IMAGE OF US-SOVIET COOPERATION IN MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE WHILE IN FACT HASTENING TO SURPASS THE US MILITARILY. THIS IS AN INTERESTING ASPECT OF PEKING'S PRESENT LINE WHICH SEEKS TO DOWNPLAY THE IDEA OF SUPERPOWER "COLLUSION" AND TO STRESS THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT OF CONTENTION. IN THE SAME WAY CHIAO ACCUSED THE SOVIETS OF BEING PARTICULARLY ENERGETIC IN HAWKING EMPTY DISARMAMENT MEASURES. CHIAO SHOWED SENSITIVITY TO CHARGES THAT CHINA SEEKS ALL OR NOTHING IN DISARMAMENT, BUT HIS MAIN DEFENSE TACTIC WAS AN ALL-OUT BLANKET ATTACK ON SOVIET PROPOSALS AND INTENTIONS. HE REITERATED, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRC'S COMPREHENSIVE AND UNREALISTIC CONDITIONS FOR A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AND HE TORE INTO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A TEN PERCENT REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS.

4. CHIAO REPEATED CHOU'S CONCLUSION THAT EUROPE WAS THE FOCUS OF US-SOVIET CONTENTION. HOWEVER, HIS SPEECH STRUCK US AS CONCENTRATING THIS YEAR MORE DIRECTLY ON THE SOVIET THREAT TO EUROPE, DROPPING SOME OF LAST YEAR'S HARSH PHRASES ABOUT BOTH SUPER-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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POWERS IMPOSING MILITARY CONTROL OVER THEIR ALLIES. HIS SCATHING REJECTION OF THE SOVIET COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL, COMPARING IT TO SEATO, WAS PROBABLY INTENDED TO MAKE IT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT THAT BEFORE FOR PRIME MINISTER TANAKA OR OTHER FRIENDLY ASIAN LEADERS TO GIVE A POLITE NOD TO THE CONCEPT.

5. CHIAO OFFERED ONE OF THE FEW HIGH-LEVEL PRC CONDEMNATIONS IN RECENT MONTHS OF THE US ROLE IN CAMBODIA, BUT HE SAID

NOTHING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS AND MAINTAINED FLEXIBILITY ON A SETTLEMENT. OTHER THAN THAT HE SEEMED TO CLOSE THE DOOR ON THE VIETNAM WAR WITH THE STATEMENT THAT IT WAS ENDED, HAVING SHOWN THE PAPER TIGER NATURE OF IMPERIALISM. ON KOREA, CHIAO STRUCK A MODERATE AND CONCILIATORY POSTURE. HE ATTACKED THE US FOR BLOCKING A KOREAN SETTLEMENT IN THE PAST BUT ARGUED MORE IN SORROW THAN ANGER AGAINST THE "UNREASONABLE" US-SPONSORED DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ISSUE.

6. IN AFRICA AND THE MID-EAST CHIAO TREATED THE US AND THE SOVIETS EVEN-HANDEDLY. HOWEVER IN THE RST OF THE THIRD WORLD THE USSR WAS THE MAIN TARGET. CHIAO USED THE EXAMPLE OF SOVIET ABUSE OF CHINA TO SHOW THAT MOSCOW WAS THE ENEMY OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. (IN CONTRAST, CHIAO'S REFERENCES TO CURRENT SINO-US RELATIONS WERE POSITIVE.) SOME PEOPLE, HE SAID, DID NOT SEE THE FACT OF SOVIET AGGRESSION FOR LACK OF EXPERIENCE BUT THAT IT WAS CLEAR TO THE PEOPLES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, EGYPT, PAKISTAN AND CAMBODIA. EVEN IN REGARD TO CHILE CHIAO'S MAIN POINT WAS THE FAILURE OF THE SOVIET THEORY OF "PEACEFUL TRANSITION" TO SOCIALISM. (A POINT WHICH MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHICH FANCY THEMSELVES SOCIALIST MAY NOT APPRECIATE.) ALSO ON LSO ISSUES CHIAO WHILE ATTACKING BOTH THE US AND THE SOVIETS, SINGLED OUT THE LATTER'S POSITION AS MOST OBNOXIOUS.

7. CHIAO APPEARED TO CONFIRM THAT THE PRC WOULD CONTINUE TO VETO THE ADMISSION OF BANGLADESH UNTIL THE RETURN OF THE POW'S WAS COMPLETED. HE MADE NO EXTENSIVE CRITICISM OF INDIA.

8. ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES CHIAO DROPPED HIS STRAIGHT-FORWARD COMMENTS OF LAST YEAR ABOUT THE POSITIVE ROLE OF FOREIGN AID AND MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE AS AN AUXILLARY TO SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT. APPARENTLY TRYING TO STRIKE AN ADDED NOTE OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MILITANCY TO OFFSET THE SOVIET PROPOSAL ON CHANNELING DEFENSE SAVINGS TO THE THIRD WORLD, HE PROCLAIMED THAT THE FORMERLY EXPLOITED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAD THE RIGHT TO DEMAND REPAYMENT OF THE DEBT OWED THEM.
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